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BLACKSTONE and LOCKE.

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"As it is essential to the very being of Parliament that Elections should be free, therefore, all undue influences upon the electors are illegal, and strongly prohibited; for Mr. Locke ranks it amongst those breaches of trust in the executive magistrate, which, according to his notions, amounts to a dissolution of government, if he employ the force, treasure, and offices of the society to corrupt the representatives, or openly to pre-engage the electors, and prescribe what manner of persons shall be chosen; for, thus to regulate candidates and electors, and new-model the ways of election, what is it but to cut up the government by the roots, and poison the very fountain of public security."—BLACKSTONE'S COMMENTARIES ON THE LAWS OF ENGLAND: Book I. Chap. 2.

EARL MULGRAVE.

"But, my lords, there is another kind of incapacity worse than this. I mean that of parliament men's having such places in the exchequer, as the very profit of them depends on the money given to the King in parliament. Would any of your lordships entrust a man to make a bargain for you, whose very interest is to make you give as much as he possibly can? It puts me in mind of a farce where an actor holds a dialogue with himself, first speaking in one tone, and then answering himself in another."—EARL MULGRAVE'S SPEECH, in the House of Lords, Dec. 22, 1692. *Cobbett's Parl. Hist.* vol. 5. p. 749.

THE GREAT LORD CHATHAM.

MR. PITT, when contending for a Reform in Parliament, in 1782, told the House, that he personally knew, that it was the opinion of his father, that, "without recurring to first principles in this respect, and establishing a more solid and equal representation of the people, by which the proper constitutional connection should be revived, this nation, with the best capacities for grandeur and happiness of any on the face of the earth, must be confounded with the mass of those whose liberties were lost in the corruption of the people."

MR. PITT.

"The defect of representation is the national disease; and unless you apply a remedy directly to that disease, you must inevitably take the consequences with which it is pregnant. Without a parliamentary Reform the nation will be plunged into new wars; without a parliamentary Reform you cannot be safe against bad ministers, nor can even good ministers be of use to you. No honest man can, according to the present system, continue minister."—MR. PITT'S SPEECH, 1782.

MR. FOX.

"The whole of this system as it is now carried on, is as outrageous to morality as it is pernicious to just government; it gives a scandal to our character, which not merely degrades the House of Commons in the eyes of the people, but it does more; it undermines the very principles of integrity in their hearts, and gives a fashion to dishonesty and imposture. They hear of a person giving or receiving four or five thousand pounds as the purchase-money of a seat for a close borough; and they hear the very man who received and put into his pocket the money, make a loud and vehement speech in this House against Bribery; and they see him, perhaps, move for the commitment to prison of a poor unfortunate wretch at your bar, who has been convicted of taking a single guinea for his vote in the very borough, perhaps, where he had publicly and unblushingly sold his influence, though that

" miserable guinea was necessary to save a family from starving under the horrors of
 " a war which he had contributed to bring upon the country. These
 " are the things that paralise you to the heart: these are the things that vitiate the
 " whole system, that spread degeneracy, hypocrisy, and sordid fraud over the country,
 " and take from us the energies of virtue, and sap the foundations of patriotism and
 " spirit."—MR. FOX'S SPEECH, 1797.

MR. GREY (NOW EARL GREY).

" HAS the House of Commons shown either vigilance of inquiry, or independence
 " of spirit? Have they investigated the origin of their misfortunes, or checked
 " ministers in their ruinous career? Nay, the very reverse. In a war remarkable
 " only for misfortune, and distinguished on our part solely by disgrace, they have
 " suffered ministers to go on from failure to failure, adding misfortune to misfortune,
 " and madness to folly, without either investigation or inquiry.—As a remedy for
 " these evils, Mr. Grey recommended ' a Reform of Parliament; and to obviate the
 " ' charge of making complaints without prescribing some specific mode of relief, he
 " ' proposed, that instead of 92 county members there should be 113, and that the
 " ' right of voting should be extended to copyholders and leaseholders who are bound
 " ' to pay rent for a certain number of years. To prevent compromises he proposed
 " ' that every county should be divided into grand divisions, each of which should
 " ' return a representative. He also proposed that the remaining 400 members
 " ' should be returned by householders.'"—MR. GREY'S SPEECH in 1797.

MR. WINDHAM.

" MANY join in the cry of Reform from ignorance, many from folly, many from
 " fanaticism. Some are incited by the vilest passions, and some from more pure, but
 " not less dangerous principles. Numerous are the knaves and numerous the dupes
 " desirous of change."—MR. WINDHAM'S *Speech, in the House of Commons, 26 May,*
 1809.

MR. CURWEN'S MOTION.

ON Friday, the 26th of May, there was a debate, in the House of Commons, upon the motion of MR. CURWEN for passing a law, imposing an *oath* upon members of that House, as to their not having paid, or bargained, for their seats.—This debate, which, as reported in the news-papers, contained much interesting matter, is well worthy of general attention. — MR. WINDHAM is reported to have used the words, contained in the last of the passages above-quoted, by way of mottoes to this sheet. If the report be correct, and, I believe it to be so, pray, Sir, let me ask you, since you set down for knaves, or dupes, all those, who wish for a reform of the House of Commons; let me ask you, whether you regard as knaves, or as dupes, Locke, Blackstone, the old Earl Mulgrave, Lord Chatham, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and the present Lord Grey? Now, do, with your usual frankness, and contempt of disguise and reserve, pray say, whether they belong to the knavish or the foolish tribe; for, to one or the other, if your assertion be true, they must belong; and, then, it will follow, that you have been voluntarily very closely connected with knaves, or fools;

for you have sitten in the same cabinet with the three latter of the persons named. —As there was nothing but bare assertion in this part of Mr. Windham's speech, it will require no further comment; for, though the authority of names is not sufficient in answer to argument, it is quite so in answer to bare assertion, and is, indeed, more than bare assertion is entitled to.—It appears to be a favourite plan with Mr. Windham to represent the *electors* as the *source* of corruption; as if the elector would bargain for a price for his vote, if there were no one ready to give him that price. But, be it so; let it be admitted, that it is from the vile miscreants, who sell their votes, that political corruption springs; for, what better argument need we in support of such a reform as shall render it impossible for any wretch to find a market for his vote? —MR. Windham says, that some Attorney, or Brewer, being refused a place for his son, feels himself instantly glowing with patriotism: his honesty is roused: he takes the independent side, and runs to the hustings bawling full-mouthed against corruption.—Well, this may be very true of the Attorney and the Brewer, and of thousands besides; but, is not this ano-

ther argument for a reform in the representation? Is not this disgraceful state of things the natural result of the present system? Could there possibly exist any case like that supposed by Mr. Windham, if the system of election were such as that proposed by Lord Grey? That there could not every one must be satisfied; and, therefore, unless Mr. Windham likes the character and conduct of his Attorney or Brewer, he must, one would think, wish for such a change as would extinguish such characters.—There is one passage in Mr. Windham's speech, which, I must confess, astonished me beyond measure. He makes a comparison between the sacrifices made by Sir Francis Burdett and by those whom he opposed, and represented as selfish; and instancing Mr. Pitt, he is reported to have said, that Mr. Pitt gave a "proof of his magnanimity in leaving office, in 1801, which had become almost a second nature to him, because he could not *conscientiously* abandon a measure, to which he had pledged himself." This did astonish me. The selection was so very unfortunate; for, it is notorious to the whole nation, that Mr. Pitt came into that same office again, three years afterwards, without making any attempt to redeem that pledge; and, further, that he united with his former opponents for the purpose of turning out the man, whom he had prevailed upon to take his place, under a promise of giving him his support. Nay, does not Mr. Windham well know, that, after Mr. Pitt had regained his place and his power, he resisted an application for the adoption of the very measure, which Mr. Windham says he left his place because he could not *conscientiously* abandon when he was in power before. Will Mr. Windham say, that the *times* or the *circumstances* were changed? If he does, then we ask him, how he came to press the measure in the last instance; to insist that Mr. Pitt was bound by his former pledge, and to reproach him with an abandonment of that pledge?—This, I think, is pretty complete: a happy instance of Mr. Pitt's "*magnanimity*:" a lucky hit at Sir Francis Burdett: a most striking proof of Sir Francis's injustice in denominating Pitt the link of corruption.

Leaving Mr. Windham to a full and undisturbed enjoyment of this triumph, let us go to the reported speech of Mr. TIERNEY, which has not only been published in the report, in the common course, but republished separately.—A great deal of the speech related to Mr. Tierney him-

self, and some part of that I shall notice; but, first, let us look at what this gentleman is reported to have said respecting those in general, who wish for a reform in parliament. These are the words attributed to him in the report. "If the design of the noble lord who had just sat down was to prove himself an honest man, he might just as well have remained silent, for certain persons would never think either him or any one else so, who did not acquiesce in all the chimeras of the hon. baronet (*Hear! hear! hear!*) It was the design of him and his friends to excite such an opinion among the people; and he believed, in his soul, it was also their wish not to have many supporters in that house, lest their designs should fail, and the public would begin to think too favourably of the house. It was their desire to raise a popular ferment, by talking of abuses which often had no existence, and by vaunting of remedies which they never meant to put in execution! Far was it from their thoughts to come manfully and constitutionally down to that house and state their complaints, if any such they really had. No, it suited them better to make harangues at taverns, to mount the tables at the Crown and Anchor, to tell the people to meet as people, and look not for redress to their representatives, who were no longer fit to be called an House of Commons. It was their plan to raise a cry by which the infatuated people might be hurried to their ruin, by hinting at corruptions which never had existence, and rousing expectations which never could be gratified."—Of all the charges that the mind of man is capable of inventing, I should have thought, that the charge of clamouring against *undefined* abuses and corruptions was the very last, which any man would have thought of, as applicable to the conduct of sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Wardle, Mr. Madocks, and the others, who wish for a reform of the House of Commons. This is the very last charge, which one would now expect to hear from those, who, four months ago, cried out for joy at the appearance of something in a "*tangible shape*." Have these gentlemen contented themselves with "*hinting*" at corruptions? Have they dealt in *broad* and *general* imputations? Had the abuses, of which Mr. Wardle complained, "*no existence*?" Was there *no ground* for the charge of Mr. Madocks? Have these gentlemen "*deceived*" the people with

falshoods? Have they not "come manfully down to the House and stated the complaints of themselves and the people?"—The public will answer these questions; they already have answered them; and Mr. Tierney may be assured, that the answer has been such as is warranted by truth, and not by that falshood, which his speech imputes to those who wish for a reform. What! is it at *this* day, that we are to be told, that abuses and corruptions are *imaginary*? Who would have thought, that *any* man would have told us this now?—Mr. Tierney, advertng to what Mr. Wardle had said, at the Crown and Anchor, about the *saving in the public expence*, which would be produced by a Reform in the representation of the people, is reported to have observed thereon, that "one hon. gent. of the worthy baronet's friends (Mr. Wardle) had made a great discovery it appeared—he was to *demolish the Income Tax!* (*a laugh*). Now he liked this—indeed he never was so pleased in his life as when he first heard of the discovery. It was the pleasantest way of laying the axe to the root he had ever imagined. (*Hear! hear!*) He was sure it would gratify the Chancellor of the Exchequer wonderfully to be able to *strike off eleven million and a half of taxes*. Now he had at last found out the reason why the hon. gentleman and the Chancellor of the Exchequer were perpetually complimenting each other. No doubt they were pulling together all this time. Indeed if *the plan* was realized, it would be exceedingly diverting; but if it was only a fallacious assertion held out for the *wicked purpose of exciting discontent*, it was one of the *vilest and most execrable insinuations*. He now called upon that hon. gent. to *produce his plan*, or stand *convicted* in the face of the world."—Something of this sort was repeated by Mr. BARHAM; and, it is a second chapter of the *threats*, pronounced against Mr. Wardle when he brought forward his Charges against the Duke of York. He is to *stand convicted* unless he can prove, that a Reform of the House of Commons would, without any injury to the affairs of the nation, be followed by a reduction of the annual expenditure to the amount of 11 millions and a half; and he is called upon for "*a plan*." This is pretty rough treatment, to be sure; but Mr. Wardle has already experienced, that such treatment does a man no harm.—A "*plan*!" Why, do they think, that he means to produce the saving in the way proposed by

lord Henry Petty? to produce the saving without any *diminution in the expence*? As if a saving was to be effected by a *scheme drawn out upon paper*. We have had schemes enough of that sort; quite schemes enough for that sort of saving, which is accompanied with an increase of taxation and an increase of the number of paupers; quite enough of those schemes, which, in order to pay off the national debt, causes its augmentation. What we want is a scheme for lessening the expenditure. A scheme that should put a stop to the paying of lady LOUISA PAGET 300*l.* a year, under that name, and another 300*l.* a year, under the name of Lady Louisa ERSKINE. This is the sort of scheme that we want: this is the sort of "*plan*," and no other plan is worth a farthing. We have had hocus pocus plans enough; but, still the taxes go on increasing; steadily increasing, and increase they will, and must, unless retrenchment take place.—Mr. Wardle has pledged himself to *prove*, that this great saving might be made, without any injury to the nation's affairs; but, he has not pledged himself to obtain a vote of the House of Commons, signifying, that *they* are satisfied with his proofs, any more than he so pledged himself in the case of the other day. He only says, the thing *is so*, and not that the House of Commons will say that it is so. What he may think *useless* expenditure, they may think *very necessary*, perhaps. As he states his items, one by one, he may be told: "Oh! you must not touch *that*." And, of course, he would, in the opinion of those who differed from him, "*stand convicted*" of having uttered "*the vilest and most execrable insinuations*." Come, says he, "*lop me off this pension to Lady Louisa; stop this to Mrs. Fox and her daughters; take this immense sum from such an one, and this from another; and discharge these foreign troops; and see that no public property is disposed of in the same way as that at Chelsea, to Colonel Gordon*." But it is very clear indeed, that all those, who think that these propositions ought not to be adopted, will say: "*there! there, you stand convicted in the face of the world*."—In short, as Mr. Wardle assumes, that a House of Commons, freely chosen by all those who pay taxes to the state, would save all that could be saved, without danger to the independence or honour of the nation, all he has to do, in order to make good his pledge, is to show, that the amount of the Income tax is now annually expended in a way,

which renders that expenditure of no benefit to the nation at large. This is all that he has to do; and, as to his ability to do it, all I shall say is, that I am glad his opponents have dared him to the proof.

—Mr. Tierney appears to have been very angry with something which Sir Francis Burdett had said, at the Crown and Anchor, about his, Mr. Tierney's, retiring from office with his pockets full of the public money, which he declared to be false. After much upon this point, expressive of strong resentment, the former member for Southwark is reported to have said: "It was true the worthy Baronet had never been troubled with office; the reasons for that might be various; perhaps the cause might have been his own disinclination; perhaps his immense fortune might have exempted him from its cares; or perhaps he had never been importuned upon the subject. (*A laugh.*) Certainly he (Mr. Tierney) had been in office, for he had *not such a fortune as could support him independently out of it*, and he would perhaps, be *compelled to live upon bread and onions*, when the worthy Baronet was faring sumptuously."—Now, really, I do not see any thing very witty in this; and as to his reason for getting into office, I shall only say that, while a man's poverty may be a very good reason with him, it may be a very bad one with the public for letting him in. But, without pretending to say whether the report be correct, which states Mr. Tierney to have represented himself as liable "to be compelled to live upon bread and onions," I will venture to assert most positively, that a man's being in that state is the best argument in the world for his not being chosen a member of that House, which has the power to dispose of the public money. If a man were to go to any nobleman of great estate, and say, "I am very poor, my Lord, and therefore, I wish you would make me your steward," the reasoning would be very good for the applicant; but, do you think, reader, that it would be conclusive with his Lordship? Yes, it would, in all probability, be quite conclusive, but the conclusion would be exactly the contrary way: "You are very poor, and, therefore, you shall not be my steward."—It is a wonder, that Mr. Windham, in his speech, should have overlooked this part of the speech of his "Right Honourable friend," as he appears to have done, when he was speaking of those persons of "real or fancied superiority of talents, but

"who had neither money nor land, and who condemned fortune for not seconding the views of nature, and placing them at the helm of affairs."

LORD PORCHESTER is said to have censured sir Francis Burdett for having asserted, that the House of Commons had *acquitted* the Duke of York; but, if this assertion be *not true*, what was the assertion in the Duke's letter, which he wrote to the king, when he resigned his office, and which letter was laid before the House! He there stated, that the House had *acquitted* him. The authorities, on both sides, being so high, it might be deemed presumption in me to judge between them; but, surely, the "loyal" will excuse sir Francis Burdett for having conceived that the Duke of York spoke the truth. The fact is, that, upon this point, the "loyal" must be very much puzzled. They do not like to say that the Duke was *not acquitted*, for not to be acquitted is to be found guilty; and yet, it goes hard with the "loyal" to say, in so many words, that the House of Commons *did acquit* the Duke. But, after all, how stands the fact? Why shortly thus: that several propositions were made for expressing, in a greater or a less degree, censure on the conduct of the Duke of York; and, after *all* those propositions were *negatived*, the House resolved, *that no further proceeding in the case was necessary*. If this be not acquittal, what is? Acquittals are always in the *negative*. "Not guilty" is all that an acquitting jury says; but, in this case, there was the *affirmative* also; for, there was a majority upon Mr. Perceval's Resolution of complete acquittal. Pray, would not any public writer be exposed to the chance of having his ears clipped off, if he were to assert, that the House of Commons *did not acquit* the Duke of York? Lord Porchester is reported to have said, that the House *did not virtually* acquit the Duke. Why, then, they *virtually* found him *guilty*. But, should I dare say that? No, no. This *virtual* work is what we do not understand. We have been accustomed to hear the verdict of *guilty*, or *not guilty*; and do not comprehend any thing of your virtual finding guilty.

As to MR. CURWEN's motion itself, its fate is of little consequence. I do not believe that it will be adopted; but, it is valuable as having drawn forth a confession from a majority of the House itself, that *something* ought to be done. It will also be recollected, that, in the debate

upon Mr. Madocks's motion, he was told to wait and see *what this measure would do*; but, now, if the measure *should not be adopted*, what will then be said? God knows! In short, the enemies of reform have nothing left to say. They must "*make a stand*." That is the good phrase: "*make a stand against popular encroachment*." Mr. Madocks says, "I accuse two of the ministers of selling a seat in this House, and demand inquiry into the matter"; and the ministers answer, "it is time to make a stand against popular encroachment"; and the Opposition Benches echo: "*make a stand!*" Mr. Windham comes with his illustrative story: a man ought to be hanged who steals a goose from the common, but it may be meritorious to steal the common from the goose; that is to say, that the elector who *sells* his vote ought to be punished, but that the man who *buys* it, or who *sells or buys a seat* in parliament, ought to be subject to no punishment at all; nay, ought not to be censured, there being nothing immoral in his conduct; that the selling and buying of seats now makes a part of our glorious constitution, and that all those, who wish for such a change as would effectually prevent such traffic in future, are either *knaves* or *dupes*.—This is the ground, upon which the famous stand is to be made. Indeed, it is made. We all know one another's minds and resolutions. The stand-makers are resolved that seats shall continue to be bought and sold, and we, I trust, are equally resolved that they shall not. It is then, as they say, at the point of a game, "*who shall*;" and, if we persevere, we *shall*, in spite of all that can be opposed to us.

AUSTRIA, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL.

The former of these countries is now enjoying the fruits of the doctrines of those, who have so long preached up the necessity of "*making a stand against popular encroachment*." A pretty stand they have made at last; but, just such a stand as every man of sense expected to see them make. The Emperor Napoleon, who is Emperor not by "*the grace of God*," as he pretends, but by the folly, tyranny, and cowardice of princes, is now in possession of the capital of the Austrian dominions. *He has gone without meeting the smallest degree of opposition.* There can be little doubt, soon hear of his

having wholly subdued this nation of *eighteen millions* of people, who have an army far more numerous than his own, and of whose *volunteers* and *militias* and *levies in mass* we have heard such wonderful accounts.—With respect to the part that we have acted, or are acting, as to this new war between Austria and France, I think, there can be little doubt of our ministers having encouraged it by all the means in their power. It was such a *clever* thing, to set Austria on upon Bonaparte, in order to draw him off from Spain! The temptation was too strong to be resisted. It was not worth while to consider the *final* consequences. That was an object too distant to produce much impression upon the minds of such statesmen as ours. But, it appears very clear to me, that, when the war against Austria and her Archdukes is finished, the affairs of Spain and Portugal will not be long in settling.—At a meeting of the "*PITT CLUB*," which took place on the 27th of last month, and three hundred and twenty persons were present, Mr. Canning, secretary of state for foreign affairs, promulgated the sentiments of the ministry, relative to our allies, as they are oddly enough called.—But, before we come to these sentiments, let us make an observation or two upon this meeting, the persons present at which consisted almost entirely of placemen, pensioners, contractors, and loan-jobbers. Now, what right had these people to have a political meeting, without a license, any more than the persons who meet at the British Forum, or any where else. Much has been said, in St. Stephen's Chapel, disrespectful of the meetings in the several parts of the kingdom; but where has there been a meeting, except, perhaps, that at Ipswich, entitled to less respect than this meeting? The Lord Chancellor, it seems, was present, and, from the report of the proceedings published in the newspapers, it appears that he did not think it beneath the dignity of his station to thank the meeting for the *honour* they had done him in approving of his conduct along with that of his brother ministers. And yet, we hear it continually a subject of complaint, in the House of Commons, that certain members of that House make harangues at taverns, and are gratified at the applause of their hearers. But what a difference is there between the applause of a tax-devouring crew, like that now before us, and the assemblages, which the Crown and Anchor Tavern has lately witnessed within its walls!—Mr. Canning took



this occasion of stating to the nation the sentiments of the government with respect to Austria, Spain, and Portugal. With respect to the first, he told the pricked contractors and loan-jobbers, that he hoped the difficulties of Austria would be *but of short duration*; he gave them the glad intelligence that it was intended to afford the Emperor of Austria aid from our resources; he said that both the sovereign and the *people* had entered upon the struggle, prepared for great exertions; and he concluded by saying, that if Austria *should fall*, the struggle would not have been made in vain for Europe. Whereupon, it appears, there were "*loud and repeated applauses.*"—This secretary of state may, perhaps, have been able to discover some exertions on the part of the people of Austria; but we know that the Emperor Napoleon has reached Vienna; and, it would be quite curious to hear the reason, whereon he founds the opinion, that the fall of Austria, will have contributed to the defence of Europe against that same Napoleon. It must be very consoling to the Emperor of Austria and his family to hear sentiments like these from an English minister; and, after hearing such sentiments, he must be a fool, indeed, not to be prepared to sacrifice himself and his people in the glorious cause.—For years and years past, have the tribe, assembled upon this occasion, been goading Austria on to war. Infinite are the means they have resorted to for this purpose. Often have they succeeded; and success after success has been attended with defeat after defeat on the part of Austria; till, at last, the total extinction of the power of the House of Lorraine promises to be the result of their efforts. And, it is at a moment when Napoleon is in possession of Vienna; when he is issuing his orders from the palaces of the fugitive sovereign; it is at such a moment, that the ministers of the king of England meet, and, amidst the applauses of their servile dependents, unfeelingly proclaim, that if Austria should fall, her struggle will not have been made in vain!

With respect to SPAIN, Mr. Canning told the crew, that he hoped that the *deliverance* of that country would be finally accomplished. The *toast*, which drew forth his observations with regard to Spain, was in the following words: "*Ferdinand VII., the legitimate king of Spain, and may the noble efforts of his subjects secure his rights and their own independence.*" From which we may clearly perceive the

sort of *deliverance*, contemplated by the ministers for Spain. The people are to fight for the *king's* rights. We hear of no *rights of their own*, that they are to fight for. They are to have, it seems, *independence*; that is to say, they are to be independent of the family of Buonaparte. But what is this to the people of Spain? What care they, or what ought they to care, who is their master, unless they be convinced that they shall be more happy and free under one master than under the other?—As to the prospect of affairs in Spain, who can believe, that it is very fair, while we see, that nothing is done, even in the absence of the French armies? Why, if the spirit, in Spain, was such as we have been told it is, would not the present moment have been seized on to drive the French out of the country? Can any man believe, that, if this be not done *now*, it ever will be done? There has been time for French armies to march from the capital of Spain to the capital of Austria, and to fight many battles on the way, and yet there has not been time to make the remainder of the French quit Spain.—But, "*stop,*" some of the wise ones say, "*till Lord Wellesley gets there.*" Napoleon will, in all probability, be there nearly as soon as Lord Wellesley; and, whether he be or not, I should be glad to know what Lord Wellesley is likely to do in Spain. He will not have the Indian Princes to negotiate with, and to fight, in Spain. He will meet with no poor souls like the NABOB VIZIER OF OUDE. It is said, in the news-papers, that he is merely going out to arrange matters, and is to leave his brother Henry there instead of Mr. Frere. I shall be sorry for this. I wish him to remain himself by all means; and then we shall have an opportunity of showing Napoleon what our Indian conqueror is made of. I should like to see the whole of the affairs in Spain and Portugal, left to the Wellesleys. I would have *nobody* interfere with them. I would leave them to do just what they pleased, or rather, what they were able. And, then, we should see what either they, or the cause, consisted of.—The great consideration, at present, however, is, that the remains of the French are *still in Spain*. One of two things must be: either they have a large army there, or a small one. If a large one, they will be able to keep their ground, till reinforcements arrive; and, if a small one, there can be no spirit of resistance in the Spanish people; the "*universal Spanish nation,*" cannot much dislike the

French. We are, the news-papers say, daily shipping off men to Sir Arthur Wellesley; but, when shall we send men equal in number to one of Napoleon's *Corps-d'armée*? It is quite in vain to send off men, unless we were first assured of the cordial co-operation of the Spaniards themselves; and, have we any such assurance? Is there any man who really believes, that we shall meet with such co-operation? I do not, and, from what has passed, the evidence of which we have in Sir John Moore's letters, I am fully warranted in my disbelief.—To what purpose, then, put the English people to such immense expence? The taxes, caused by this war in Spain, will be severely felt; and, ought they to be imposed, until it be clearly ascertained, that since the retreat of Sir John Moore, the disposition of the people in Spain has changed?—I believe, that, without first making a complete revolution in Spain; without shaking society to pieces from the top to the bottom, there are not, in Spain, the materials to compose a force to resist the French. We have not power to send an army sufficient for the purpose; and, what must be the consequence, then, of our efforts.—MR. CANNING told the Contractors, at the London Tavern, that, whether we succeeded or not; whatever the event of the struggle might be, our *generosity* would never be effaced from the minds of the *people* of Spain. The *people* of Spain! What part of our "generosity" do they taste off? If we were to send them food and clothing, they might be grateful; but, alas! what we expend does not reach even the ears of the people of Spain, much less their backs and bellies. How *grateful* they felt in Leon and Galicia, the remnant of our poor harrassed troops can tell. Sir John Moore's letters will tell. They have told; and yet, we are still to have dinned in our insulted ears, the *gratitude* and *zeal* of the "*universal Spanish nation*."

As to PORTUGAL, it is manifest to every one, that any ground gained there, can be of no avail, unless the French be driven from Spain, of which Portugal is, by nature, a part. Therefore, it is quite useless to spend money and to shed blood in Portugal, unless there be a tolerably fair chance of finally succeeding in Spain; and, then, we come round again to the old point; to the old question, whether there be, or be not, in Spain itself, the means of raising a force sufficient to resist Napoleon? Of what use is it for Mr. Canning to tell his crew, that the House of

Braganza is *attached* to England, unless he could shew us, that that attachment was likely to be of some benefit to us? The attachment of the House of Braganza is of no more consequence than that of the House of Chicasaw, on the banks of the Ohio, unless the House of Braganza can assist in resisting Buonaparté. "*Trade to the Brazils!*" Why, it has *ruined thousands already*, and will ruin thousands more. The mad or deluded speculators, crammed five or six into a stinking room, and half-devoured with flies, are, at this moment, selling their goods under the prime cost. I speak from a knowledge of the facts; and I venture to say, that the trade to the Brazils has already produced a greater loss to England than the Brazils would sell for, if put up to auction. The fruit of the labour and the soil of England is now wasting in the shops, or *stores*, as they are called, of RIO JANEIRO, and that too, in quantities and to an amount almost incredible. This loss will be *felt*, though not seen, in every part of the nation; we shall have to bear our proportion of it; and, the mortification is, that we are told to look upon this loss as a benefit, for which we ought to give our money and risk our lives.—When the mighty *advantages* of a connection with the Brazils was first trumpeted forth, I did my best to stay the coming plague. One person, in particular, I did all in my power to dissuade from any adventure thither. A letter from him to a mutual friend has conveyed to me the proof of the correctness of all my predictions, down even to the minutest particulars. The picture he gives is truly distressing; but, it is not more so than it was painted by me before his departure. The public will recollect what pains I took, at the time, to stem the torrent of delusion. Those pains were taken in vain; and, I must say, that I do not feel much sorrow for the losses, or the sufferings, of those, whose thirst for gain closed their minds against the voice of reason. *The Brazils!* The Brazils were to build ships; to send butter and pork and hoops and staves and timber to the West Indies; and, what was still better, they were to send us *sugar* and *coffee*, as if the West Indians had not an ounce of either to spare! Was there ever any thing so mad as this? And yet, upon grounds like these; for *benefits* like these, is this nation put to the expence of maintaining an expensive embassy in the Brazils, and also a *fleet* and an *army*. The whole of the immense expence, attending this connection, is, in my view of things,

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so much of dead loss to the nation. We, in England, work to raise taxes to pay to the people of the Brazils for the food, which they supply to our sailors and soldiers, who are sent and stationed there for the protection of the government of the Prince Regent. This is the short view of the matter; but, this is a view of it which the herd of contractors and jobbers and placemen and pensioners did not want to take. *They* gain by the connection with the Brazils; but *we* lose. They gain by whatever augments the public expenditure; by whatever extends the sphere of office and of borough influence; and, therefore, it was quite natural in them to applaud the sentiments, which have been published as those of the ministry, delivered by the Secretary of State, at a meeting by far the least reputable, in almost any point of view, of any that has taken place in the kingdom, within the last three months, with the sole exception of that at *Ipswich*, the head quarters of the German Baron.

ANOTHER DECISION

OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

On Tuesday last, the 30th of May, SIR JOHN NEWPORT made a statement as follows:—"He rose to call the attention of the House to an appointment which had been made in defiance of the express words of the Act of the 46th year of the King, and of every principle upon which promotions and rewards should be conferred. By the Act to which he had alluded, any officer of the customs of Excise, who should, after the passing of that Act, *take or accept of any fee, gratuity or presents*, from the distillers whom they visited in the course of their duty, should be thereby incapacitated from holding any office, civil or military. Notwithstanding the express words of this Act, a MR. BEAUCHAMP HILL, who had confessed before Commissioners of Enquiry, that he had regularly received 20*l.* per week from two distillers who were in his district, was not only *not dismissed*, but was *promoted from the situation of Surveyor to be an Inspector General*, which was a promotion in that very department in which the frauds had been committed. It was in September 1806, that he had confessed himself guilty of the fraud, and on the 8th of March 1808 he received his promotion. He thought it would be useless to endeavour to guess at what sort of defence could be set up, and concluded by mov-

ing a resolution, *stating the words of the Act of the 46th of his Majesty, the confession of Mr. Hill that he had acted contrary to it, and his subsequent promotion.*"

Well, what was now done? What did the House do? Why, the motion was opposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Perceval) and by Mr. Croker and by the Son of Lord Melville. But, what did the House; what did the House of Commons do? Why they voted (77 against 50) that the motion should not be adopted.

Now, reader, remember, that, in the year 1802, one PHILIP HAMLIN, a Tinman of Plymouth, having written a letter to Mr. Addington, offering the said Addington 2,000*l.* to give him a place in the Custom House, he was, by this very Mr. Perceval, who was then Attorney General, prosecuted criminally for the said offence; that, upon the man's making affidavit of the innocence of his intention, and of the ruin that punishment would bring upon his family, the said Mr. Perceval demanded judgment upon him in the name of PUBLIC JUSTICE; that the Judge, in passing sentence, dwelt much upon the moral as well as political evils, to which such practices must tend; and finally, that the said Philip Hamlin was sentenced to pay a *fine of a hundred pounds to the king, and to be imprisoned for three Calendar months.*

Mr. Barham (in the debate upon the above motion) said "there was one argument which ought to make the House cautious in what way they dealt with this motion. It had been publicly and generally asserted, that many persons sat in that House by improper means. The public had taken the alarm; and it had been found in support of that alarm, and those assertions, that a Cabinet Minister had actually been concerned in bartering for a seat in that House, and was defended for such an act. It was by the motion that moment under consideration, and the arguments urged in support of it, further asserted that *corruptions prevailed in a most extensive degree over the whole revenue of Ireland.* If something were not done to rectify these corruptions and abuses—if no step were taken towards removing them, he dreaded to think, what the public opinion of that House must very soon be."

AMERICAN STATES.

Did I not, the moment there arose a dispute with America; nay, long before,

suggest the propriety of committing our affairs, in that country, to other hands? I was regarded as spiteful and malicious; but, I think, that it will now be allowed, that it would have been prudent to follow my advice; for the Secretary of State has openly and explicitly declared, in the House of Commons, that "the proceedings of our minister in America have been in *direct contradiction to his instructions.*"

—The interesting point for the people of this country now is, whether that minister, when he comes home, *will have a great pension settled upon him for life?* This is the question. The connection with America, it has now been *proved*, we do not want. It is of no consequence to us, while (as an article in another part of this sheet will show) they are beggars without it; but, it is of great consequence to us to know, whether this same minister is to be fastened upon us and our children to the tune of *two or three thousand pounds a year.*

THE COURT MARTIAL.

The *Government* (for, it is hard to conceive that any body can have done it without its consent) appears to have sanctioned the publication of certain documents, relative to a *Court-Martial*, at which in 1792, I endeavoured to bring certain persons to punishment.—Had the whole of the Papers been published, without any misrepresentation, I never should have noticed the thing at all; but, have left the documents to speak for themselves.—In my next double number, however, I shall, as the thing now stands, give a full account of the matter; and I venture to say, that, when I have so done, there is not a single man, who shall read that account, who will think, that (the circumstances of my situation considered) what I then *attempted* to do was more meritorious than any of the many important things, which a change of circumstances has enabled me to *accomplish.*—The friends of corruption are aware of my weight in the great question of *Parliamentary Reform*; and, next to the destroying of my credit with the public, there is nothing they so much desire as to engage me in a *personal warfare*, which I am resolved they shall not do. I will waste upon them not one moment of that time, which is due to the public. I deny most positively every one of their insinuations, and I defy them to make good against me any charge of having acted, at any time of my life, dishonestly or dishonourably. The vile insinuations of the anonymous wretches,

whom the patrons of corruption suborn to calumniate me, I not only despise, but I despise all those, who affect to lend an ear to them; and, in this feeling, I have, in the increasing circulation of my writings, the best possible proof, that I have the public with me.—This attempt, on the part of the friends of corruption, is a desperate one. They must feel themselves hard driven, when they have recourse to such means. They are stung to madness at my success, which, they plainly see, must contribute largely towards their overthrow. They will, in the end, lose by their efforts; but, theirs is a life of expedients; the *evil hour* is what they wish to get rid of; and of that hour they will not get rid.

Botley, 1st June, 1809.

COBBETT'S COMPLETE COLLECTION OF State Trials:

To be completed in Thirty-Six Monthly Parts, forming Twelve large Volumes in Royal Octavo.

The *SIXTH PART* of the above Work was published on Thursday the 1st instant. One Part will appear, with the greatest regularity, on the first of each succeeding Month. Those Subscribers who have expressed their intention of taking the Work in Quarterly Volumes, are respectfully informed that the *Second Volume* is now ready for delivery.

COBBETT'S Parliamentary Debates:

The *TWELFTH VOLUME* of the above Work will be ready for delivery on the first of July. All communications, if sent to the Publisher's in due time, shall be carefully attended to.

AMERICAN STATES.

I cannot help recording the following articles, relative to the Restoration of Intercourse with England.

New York, April 21.

Notice.—The Federal Republican Committee, of the city of New York, recommend to all ship owners and masters of vessels to display their colours on Monday next, in honour of the triumph of Federal Policy, in the restoration of intercourse between the United States and Great Britain.—The persons having charge of the bells in the different churches, are re-

requested to cause them to be rung from twelve to one o'clock in the same day—And it is ordered that a Committee wait on the Commandant of Artillery, and request that he will cause a Federal Salute to be fired at sun-rise, noon, and sun-set, on the same glorious occasion.

Committee-Room, Saturday Evening, April 22.

GENERAL MEETING.

Triumph of Federal Policy—No Embargo.—

No French party—A return of Peace, Prosperity and Commerce.

All true friends of their country—all who are disciples of Washington, and disposed to support the Federal Ticket at the ensuing election, are requested to meet this day, at twelve o'clock, at the Circus, to consider the present state of our national affairs, and to support that system of Federal Politics which has at last compelled the administration to abandon a fruitless and self-destructive Embargo, and take the first step towards a settlement of our affairs with Great Britain, by accepting terms offered sixteen months ago; thus putting our differences with that nation in a train of being fairly and honourably adjusted, instead of French threats and confiscations abroad, and French influence at home.

April 24.

Yesterday, agreeably to notice, our citizens evinced public testimonies of their joy on the prospect of a restoration of commercial intercourse with England. The day was ushered in by a grand Federal Salute, which was repeated at noon, and at sun-set. The shipping in harbour were decorated with their flags at mast-head during the day. The American EAGLE, roused from despondency, once more soared among the stars, floating with fond complacency over resuscitated commerce, and expanding his pinions in triumph at her restoration. The ringing of bells and the thunder of cannon spoke the feelings of freedom, and proclaimed to the skies, the virtuous enthusiasm of political friendship. Mutual felicitations were exchanged among our patriotic citizens, and the joys of the heart lighted up a smile on every countenance.—At twelve o'clock a very numerous and respectable assembly of Federal Republicans met at the Circus. So large and so animated an assemblage of Electors was never before witnessed in this country. Though the place will contain upwards of four thousand, it could not admit the whole who attended.—The city, in the evening, was splendidly and fancifully illu-

minated:—while the chiming of the bells and sounds of joy in the streets which swelled on the breath of eve, filled every virtuous bosom with sensations of delight.—What are the reflections which present themselves to the mind from a survey and recapitulation of this scene?—A natural association of ideas pourtray a people, who, after having long groaned under despotic restrictions, severe bondage, and oppressive laws, are suddenly emancipated by the firmness and virtue of inflexible patriots. To them do we owe these testimonies of gratitude and joy. And who are they? The Federalists of the Eastern States, who made a noble stand against unconstitutional and unjust oppression, and drove its authors from the iniquitous ground they had taken.

PROCEEDINGS

In COUNTIES, CITIES, BOROUGHs, &c. relative to the recent INQUIRY in the House of Commons, respecting the Conduct of the DUKE OF YORK. (Continued from p. 825.)

TOWN OF BLACKBURN.

AN ADDRESS of Thanks from the Inhabitants of the Town and Neighbourhood of Blackburn, in the County of Lancaster, to G. L. Wardle, Esq. M. P. for his late Proceedings in the hon. House of Commons.

Sir;

THE wisdom of ages has been employed in forming and arranging the principles of the British Constitution. By the provision of formidable checks to the progress of corruption, those principles are intended to operate in preserving at once the liberty of the subject and the stability of the throne. But individual interests and designs are too often in opposition to their legitimate influence; and it requires a rare combination of talents and virtues to give to that influence, energy and direction. In you, sir, we contemplate such a combination; and are desirous of uniting our testimony with the voice of the kingdom in the public and cordial expression of our thanks and congratulations.—While we regret and reprobate those abuses of power and patronage which have for a series of years so notoriously existed in the appointments to military offices, we sincerely rejoice in the disclosure of those improper transactions, during a recent Inquiry at the Bar of the House of Commons. For that Inquiry, and all its important consequences, we are, sir, indebted to you; and we gratefully

acknowledge and highly applaud the independence and patriotism with which your investigations were commenced and concluded.—We trust that the success which has rewarded your exertions, and the spirit of constitutional inquiry which now pervades the nation, will be felt by you as powerful motives to an uniform and courageous resistance of corruption, with whatever authority and splendour it may be invested. Deeply convinced of the necessity of an immediate and general Reform of all the Abuses of the Executive Government, we behold with lively interest the results of other inquiries, and the proceedings of those best friends to the permanent welfare of the empire, with whom you are associated, and under whose auspices we look forward to a purer administration of affairs.—We cannot, sir, close our congratulations, without the further expression of our Thanks to those noble and honourable members, by whom you were supported in your late proceedings. And we would particularly express our approbation of the conduct of the representatives of the neighbouring borough of Preston (lord Stanley and Mr. Horrocks), because they appear to have been the only members in the county of Lancaster whose votes accorded with the evidence of facts and the opinions of the nation.—With the sincerest wishes that you may enjoy a long protracted life of usefulness and honour, we subscribe ourselves,

Sir,

Your's, &c.

COUNTY OF WILTS.

At a Meeting of the Freeholders, Landholders, and other Inhabitants of the County of Wilts, convened by the High Sheriff, and holden at the Council Chamber, in the City of New Sarum, on Wednesday, May 17, 1809;—Sir CHARLES WARRE MALET, in the Chair,—It was Resolved,

That the Thanks of this Meeting be given to G. L. Wardle, esq., for having instituted the recent Inquiry in the House of Commons, relative to the conduct of h. r. h. the Duke of York, as Commander-in-Chief; for having, unconnected with, and unsupported by, any party or faction, prosecuted that laudable undertaking with unexampled magnanimity, talent, zeal, temper, and perseverance, and especially for having had the resolution to discharge his duty, in defiance of the threats and prejudices excited against him by the king's ministers, and by many of the leaders of the opposite party.

That the Thanks of this Meeting be given to Sir F. Burdett, bart., who seconded Mr. Wardle's motion, and also to Lord visc. Folkestone, for the active and able assistance he afforded to Mr. Wardle during the whole of the Inquiry.

That the Thanks of this Meeting be given to Lords visc. Milton and Althorpe, Lord Stanley, the hon. T. Brand, the hon. W. H. Lyttleton, Sir S. Romilly, knt., Major-General Fergusson, S. Whitbread, T. Curwen, T. W. Coke, H. Martin, T. Calcraft, and C. W. Wynne, esqrs., who, during such inquiry, stood forward the advocates of impartial justice, and also to the whole of the Minority of 125, who divided in favour of Mr. Wardle's motion, amongst whom we, as Wiltshire Men, observe with pleasure the name of that venerable and truly independent senator, William Hussey, esq., who, for nine successive parliaments, has represented the city of New Sarum with ability and perseverance, and with undeviating integrity and independence; of Thomas Goddard, esq., member for Cricklade, and of Benjamin Walsh, esq., member for Wootton-Basset, in this county; while we observe, with indignation and regret, that the name of neither of the Members for this county does appear in that honourable list. And we also lament, that with the exception of Lord Folkestone, William Hussey, Thomas Goddard, and Benjamin Walsh, esqrs., we do not recognize in that list the name of any of the 34 Members who are sent to Parliament by the various Boroughs in this county.

That in adverting to the causes of the disgraceful acts revealed and demonstrated during this Inquiry, this Meeting cannot help observing, that in the act of parliament, commonly called the Act of Settlement, in virtue of which Act only his Majesty's family were raised to the throne of this kingdom, it is declared, "That no person who has an Office or Place of Profit under the King, or receives a Pension from the Crown, shall be capable of serving as a Member of the House of Commons." But that, notwithstanding the wise precautions of this Act, which is one of our great constitutional laws, and which, as its preamble expresses, was made for the further limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, it appears from a Report laid before the House of Commons, in the month of June last, in consequence of a Motion made by lord Cochrane, that there are in that House

18 Placemen and Pensioners, who, though part of what they receive was not stated, are in the said Report stated to receive £178,994 a year, out of the taxes paid by the people, and out of that money, to watch over the expenditure of which they themselves are appointed.

That we observe the names of all those Placemen and Pensioners voting against Mr. Wardle's Motion.

That in the Act called the Bill of Rights, it is declared, "That the Election of Members of Parliament ought to be free;" and in the same Act it is declared, "That the violating the freedom of Election of Members to serve in Parliament, was one of the crimes of King James II. and one of the grounds upon which he was driven from the throne of this kingdom." But that, notwithstanding that law, this Meeting have observed, that on the 11th instant, Mr. Madocks did, in the House of Commons, distinctly charge Mr. Perceval and lord Castlereagh with having actually sold a seat in Parliament to Mr. Dick, and with having endeavoured to prevail upon the said Mr. Dick to vote against Mr. Wardle in the case of the Duke of York; and that Mr. Madocks having made a motion for an inquiry into the said transactions, the House, by a very large majority, decided that there should be no such inquiry.

That from these facts, as well as numerous others, notorious to us, and to the whole nation, this Meeting have a firm conviction, that it is in the House of Commons, as at present constituted, that exists the great and efficient cause of all such scandalous abuses, in various departments of the State, as have, in other countries, alienated the subject from the Sovereign, and eventually produced the downfall of the state.

That therefore this Meeting, anxious alike for the preservation of his Majesty's throne and legitimate authority, and for the restoration of the rights and liberties bequeathed them by the wisdom, the fortitude, and the valour of their forefathers, hold it a duty which they owe to their Sovereign and his successors, to themselves and to their children, and to the safety, happiness, and renown of their country, to declare their decided opinion and conviction, that no change for the better can be reasonably expected, without such a Reform in the Commons' House of Parliament, as shall make that House in reality, as well as in name, the Representatives of the People, and not the instru-

ments in the hands of a Minister. And we further declare, that from the proof we have always had of his Majesty's love for his people, we have full confidence in his royal support and protection, in our constitutional efforts, against a faction, not less hostile to the true dignity and just prerogatives of his Majesty's throne, than they are to the interest and feelings of his faithful, suffering, and insulted people.

That HENRY PENRUDDOCK WYNDHAM and RICHARD LONG, esqrs., the Representatives of this County, have, by their late conduct in Parliament, proved themselves undeserving the confidence of their constituents, and of the future support of this county.

Resolved unanimously, That the Thanks of this Meeting be given to the High Sheriff for calling the same, and for his impartial conduct in the Chair.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

AMERICA.—*Orders in Council.*

At the Court of the Queen's Palace, the 24th of May, 1809.—Present—The King's most excellent Majesty in Council:

Whereas his Majesty was pleased, by his Order in Council of the 26th of April last, to declare certain ports and places of the countries which have been lately styled the kingdom of Holland, to be subject to the restrictions incident to a strict and rigorous blockade, as continued from his Majesty's former Order of the 11th Nov. 1807; and whereas advices have been received of a certain Provisional Agreement entered into by his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in America, with the Government of the United States, whereby it is understood that his Majesty's Orders in Council of the 7th Jan. and of the 11th Nov. 1807, shall be withdrawn so far as respects the United States, on the 10th of June next.

And whereas, although the said Provisional Agreement is not such as was authorised by his Majesty's Instructions, or such as his Majesty can approve, it may already have happened, or may happen, that persons being citizens of the said United States may be led by a reliance on the said Provisional Agreement, to engage in trade with and to the said ports and places of Holland, contrary to, and in violation of the restrictions imposed by the said Orders of the 7th Jan. and of the 11th Nov. 1807, as altered by the Order of the 26th April last; his Majesty, in order to prevent any inconveniences that may ensue from the circumstance above

recited, is pleased, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, That the said several Orders shall be suspended, so far as is necessary for the protection of vessels of the said United States, so sailing under the faith of the said Provisional Agreement, viz. That after the 9th day of June next, no vessel of the United States, which shall have cleared out between the 19th of April last, and the 20th of July ensuing, for any of the ports of Holland aforesaid from any port of the United States, shall be molested or interrupted in her voyage by the Commanders of his Majesty's ships or privateers.

And it is further ordered, that no vessels of the United States, which shall have cleared out from any port of America previous to the 20th of July next, for any other permitted port, and shall, during her voyage, have changed her destination, in consequence of information of the said Provisional Agreement, and shall be proceeding to any of the ports of Holland aforesaid, shall be molested or interrupted by the Commanders of any of his Majesty's ships or privateers, unless such vessel shall have been informed of this Order on her voyage, and shall have been warned not to proceed to any of the ports of Holland aforesaid, and shall, notwithstanding such warning, be found attempting to proceed to any such port.

And it is further ordered, that after the said 9th day of June next, no vessel of the said United States which shall have cleared out, or be destined to any of the ports of Holland from any other port or place not subject to the restrictions of the said Order of the 26th of April last, after notice of such Provisional Agreement as aforesaid, shall be molested or interrupted in her voyage by the Commanders of his Majesty's ships or privateers, provided such vessel shall have so cleared out previous to actual notice of this Order at such place of clearance, or in default of proof of actual notice previous to the like periods of time after the date of this Order, as are fixed for constructive notice of his Majesty's Order of the 11th of Nov. 1807, by the Orders of the 25th Nov. 1807, and of the 13th of May, 1808, at certain places and latitudes therein mentioned, unless such vessel shall have been informed of this Order on her voyage, and warned by any of his Majesty's ships or privateers not to proceed to any port of Holland, and shall, notwithstanding such warning, attempt to proceed to any such port.

And his Majesty is pleased further to order, and it is hereby ordered, That the said several Orders of the 7th of Jan. and 11th of Nov. 1807, as altered by the said Order of the 26th of April last, shall also be suspended, so far as is necessary for the protection of vessels of the said United States which shall clear out, to any ports not declared to be under the restriction of blockade from any port of Holland between the 9th day of June and the 1st day of July next, provided always, that nothing that is contained in the present Order shall extend, or be construed to extend, to protect any vessels or their cargoes, that may be liable to condemnation or detention for any other cause than the violation of the aforesaid Orders of the 7th of Jan. and the 11th of Nov. 1807, as altered by the said Order of the 26th of April last.

Provided also, that nothing in this Order contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to protect any vessel which shall attempt to enter any port actually blockaded by any of his Majesty's ships of war.

And the right hon. the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and the Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, and the Judges of the Court of Vice-Admiralty, are to give the necessary directions herein as to them may respectively appertain.

STEPHEN COTTRELL.

FRENCH ARMY IN AUSTRIA.—*First Bulletin, (concluded from p. 832.)*

The Austrian cavalry, strong and numerous, attempted to cover the retreat of their infantry, but they were attacked by the division of St. Sulpice on the right, and by the division of Nansoutz on the left, and the enemy's line of hussars and cuirassiers routed, more than 300 Austrian cuirassiers were made prisoners. As the night was commencing, our cuirassiers continued their march to Ratisbon. The division of Nansoutz met with a column of the enemy, which was escaping, and attacked it, and compelled it to surrender; it consisted of three Hungarian battalions of 1,500 men.—The division of St. Sulpice charged another division of the enemy, where the archduke Charles narrowly escaped being taken. He was indebted for his safety to the fleetness of his horse. This column was also broken and taken. Darkness at length compelled our

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troops to halt. In this battle of Echmuhl, not above half of the French troops were engaged. The enemy, closely pressed, continued to defile the whole of the night in small divisions, and in great confusion. All their wounded, the greater part of their artillery, 15 standards, and 20,000 prisoners, fell into our hands.

Battle of Ratisbon, and taking of that place.

On the 23rd, at day break, the army advanced upon Ratisbon; the advanced guard, formed by the division of Gudin, and by the cuirassiers of Nansoutz and St. Sulpice, and they very soon came in sight of the enemy's cavalry, which attempted to cover the city. Three successive charges took place, all of which were to our advantage. Eight thousand of their troops having been cut to pieces, the enemy precipitately repassed the Danube. During these proceedings, our light infantry tried to get possession of the city. By a most unaccountable disposition of his force, the Austrian general sacrificed six regiments there without any reason. The city is surrounded with a bad wall, a bad ditch, and a bad counterscarp. The artillery having arrived, the city was battered with some twelve pounders. It was recollected that there was one part of the fortifications where, by means of a ladder, it was possible to descend into the ditch, and to pass on the other side through a breach in the wall. The duke of Montebello caused a battalion to pass through this opening: they gained a postern, and introduced themselves into the city. All those who made resistance were cut to pieces: the number of prisoners exceed 8,000. In consequence of these unskilful dispositions, the enemy had not time to destroy the bridge, and the French passed pell-mell with them to the left bank. This unfortunate city, which they were barbarous enough to defend, has suffered considerably. A part of it was on fire during the night, but by the efforts of general Moraud, and his division, it was extinguished. Thus, at the battle of Abensberg, the Emperor beat separately the two corps of the archduke Louis and general Keller; at the battle of Landshut, he took the centre of their communications, and the general dépôt of their magazines and artillery; finally, at the battle of Eckmuhl, the four corps of Hohenzollern, Rosenberg, Kollowrath, and Lichtenstein, were defeated. The corps of general Bellegarde arrived the day after the battle; they could only be witnesses of the taking of Ratisbon, and then fled into Bohemia.

In all these battles our loss amounted to 1,200 killed and 4,000 wounded!!!—[Then follows a list of the French officers killed and wounded, and very high eulogiums upon the different French generals.]—Of 222,000 of which the Austrian army was composed, all have been engaged except 20,000 men, commanded by general Bellegarde. On the other hand, near one half of the French army has not fired a shot. The enemy, astonished by rapid movements, which were out of their calculation, were in a moment deprived of their foolish hopes, and precipitated from a delirium of presumption to a despondency approaching to despair.

Second Bulletin, dated Muhldorf, April 27.

On the 22d, the day after the battle of Landshut, the Emperor left that city for Ratisbon, and fought the battle of Echmuhl. At the same time he sent the duke of Istria with the Bavarian division under general Wrede, and Moltor's division, to proceed to the Inn, and pursue the two corps of the Austrian army beaten at Abensberg and Landshut.—The duke of Istria arrived successively at Wilsburg and Neumark, found there upwards of 400 carriages, caissons and equipages, and took from 15 to 1800 prisoners in his march.—The Austrian corps found beyond Neumark, a corps of reserve which had arrived upon the Inn. They rallied, and on the 25th gave battle at Neumark, where the Bavarians, notwithstanding their extreme inferiority, preserved their positions.—On the 24th the Emperor had sent the corps of the duke of Rivoli from Ratisbon to Straubing, and from thence to Passau, where he arrived on the 26th. The duke made the battalion of the Po pass the Inn—it made 300 prisoners, removed the blockade of the citadel, and occupied Scharding.—On the 25th the duke of Montebello had orders to march with his corps from Ratisbon to Muhldorf. On the 27th he passed the Inn and proceeded to the Salza.—To-day, the 27th, the Emperor has his head-quarters at Muhldorf.—The Austrian division, commanded by general Jellachich, which occupied Munich, is pursued by the corps of the duke of Dantzic.—The king of Bavaria has shewn himself at Munich. He afterwards returned to Augsburg, where he will remain some days, intending not to fix his residence at Munich till Bavaria shall be entirely delivered from the enemy.—On the side of Ratisbon the duke of Auerstadt is gone in pursuit of prince

Charles, who cut off from his communication with the Inn and Vienna, has no other resource than that of retiring into the mountains of Bohemia, by Waldmunchen and Cham.—With respect to the emperor of Austria, he appears to have been before Passau, in order to besiege that place with three battalions of the Landwerk.—All Bavaria and the Palatinate are delivered from the presence of the enemy.—At Ratisbon, the Emperor passed several corps in review, and caused the bravest soldiers to be presented to him, to whom he gave distinctions and pensions, and the bravest officers, to whom he gave baronies and lands.—Hitherto the Emperor has carried on the war almost without equipage and guards; and one has remarked, that in the absence of his guards, he had always about him the allied Bavarian and Wirtemberg troops; wishing thereby to give them a particular proof of confidence.—A report has been circulated that the Emperor has had his leg broken. The fact is, that a spent ball grazed the heel of his boot, but did not touch the skin. Never was his majesty in better health, though in the midst of the greatest fatigue.—It has been remarked as a singular fact, that one of the first Austrian officers made prisoners in this war, was the aide de camp of prince Charles, sent to M. Otto with the famous letter, purporting that the French army must retire.—The inhabitants of Ratisbon having behaved very well, and evinced that patriotic and confederated spirit which we have a right to expect from them, his majesty has ordered that the damages done shall be repaired at his expence, and particularly the rebuilding of the houses burnt, the expence of which will be several millions.—All the sovereigns and territories of the Confederacy evince the most patriotic spirit. When the Austrian minister at Dresden delivered the Declaration of his court to the king of Saxony, the latter could not contain his indignation—"You wish for war, and against whom? You attack and you inveigh against a man, who three years ago, master of your destiny, restored your states to you. The proposals made to me afflict me; my engagements are known to all Europe; no prince of the Confederacy will detach himself from them."—The grand duke of Wurtz-

burg, the emperor of Austria's brother, has shewn the same sentiments, and has declared that if the Austrians advanced to his territories, he should retire, if necessary, across the Rhine—so well are the insanity and the invectives of Vienna appreciated! The regiments of the petty princes, all the allied troops are eager to march against the enemy.—A notable circumstance, which posterity will remark as a fresh proof of the signal bad faith of Austria, is, that on the day she wrote the annexed letter to the king of Bavaria, she published, in the Tyrol, the proclamation signed by general Jellachich. On the same day she proposed to the king to be neutral, and invited his subjects to rise. How can we reconcile this contradiction, or rather how justify this infamy?

[To the Bulletins are annexed a Proclamation from the Austrian general Jellachich, inviting the Tyrolese to throw off the Bavarian yoke, and to resume their allegiance to their old master; and a letter from the archduke Charles to the king of Bavaria, soliciting his co-operation in a war undertaken for the general deliverance of Germany.]

Proclamation.

Soldiers, you have justified my expectations. You have made up for numbers by your bravery. You have gloriously marked the difference that exists between the soldiers of Caesar and the armed cohorts of Xerxes.—In a few days we have triumphed in the three battles of Tann, Abensberg, and Echemuhl, and in the actions of Peising, Landshut, and Ratisbon. One hundred pieces of cannon, 40 standards, 50,000 prisoners, 3,000 waggons, full of baggage, all the chests of the regiments—Such is the result of the rapidity of your march and your courage.—The enemy, besotted by a perjured cabinet, seemed no longer to preserve any recollection of us.—They have been promptly awaked.—You have appeared to them more terrible than ever. Lately they crossed the Inn, and invaded the territory of our allies. Lately they presumed to carry the war into the heart of our country. Now, defeated and dismayed, they fly in disorder. Already my advanced-guard has passed the Inn—before a month is elapsed we shall be at Vienna.—From our Head-quarters, Ratisbone, 24th April.—(Signed) NAPOLEON.